1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

322 labors. If this place is not shady, the owner erects a shade of coconut mats
285 (*tahapau*) on poles to protect workers and canoe timbers. Caulking material, lashing sennit, and canoe timbers are provided by the owner. The expert provides his own implements. (For the food financing and payment for the completed canoe, see p. 92).

322 Expert carpenters value their good name as quick workers and rarely
554 dawdle over a job, because this would lay them open to criticism and would
461 militate against further building contracts. As long as the expert and his assistants work conscientiously they are well fed. There are no songs or sayings about lazy carpenters, but a quick and skillful expert will be sure to have his name praised in a chant. Informants suggested that about one moon of continuous work with shell adzes was formerly required to finish an average-sized canoe.

322 Some experts possess a trade mark (*tahamatongo*) which they carve
531 roughly on the front of the bow piece of canoes they build. Such a mark is the head of a fish, the beak of a bird, or some other part of an animal. Tualai puts a sign of two crossed hands on the wave guard (*malae puka*) of each canoe he builds.

552 Canoes may be named by their owners. An appropriate canoe name is *To Mango* (Shark) or *To Punga-o-Witi* (Coral-rock-of-Fiji). This name is mentioned to the people who attend the canoe-finishing feast (*inu kai tahamatienga*) and the canoe is henceforth known and referred to by this name. Today some men roughly carve or paint the name on the bow of the canoe.

Canoe Crew

502 The canoe crew is known collectively as *tuua vaka*. Specialized names
793 for crew members of the flying-fish canoes have already been mentioned (p. 58). In general, the captain of the canoe crew is termed *tau muli vaka*. He is the steersman and leader of the crew. Formerly, especially for long distance voyages, he was usually a priest (*tuata*). If he did not have priestly powers, one of his crew, who was a priest, consulted the gods in times of need.

502 The second member (*tuliuuli*) of the crew (moving from stern to bow) who sits on the aft cross boom (*daukau ki muli*) is second in command and corresponds to mate. Should the captain die on a long voyage, he automatically takes command of the canoe. If the captain lays down his steering paddle to fish or rest, the *tuliuuli* takes up the steering. He helps to steer in strong seas or a high wind, and uses his paddle as a make-shift leeboard when the canoe is sailing by the wind. He further tends the main sheet (*tuusu*) when the sail is up, watching wind pressure and direction.

The group of paddlers amidships are termed collectively *tatani*. They are

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[322 552] show variations on the type elliptical bowl. All bowls were carved from a solid block of wood. Large bowls used to prepare the taro foods for feasts are named after their makers.

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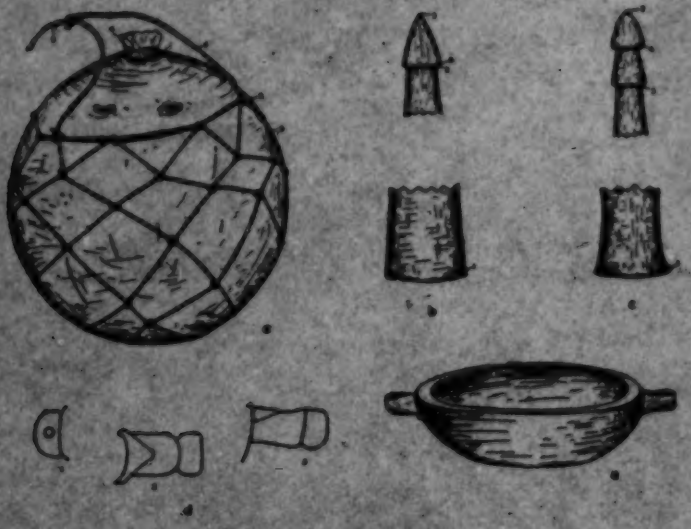

FIGURE 13—Household equipment. *a*, coconut water container (*wawaupi*) (Cl050): soft eye (1) of large coconut (2) opened and enlarged; net (3) of two-ply twisted sennit cord encloses shell; handle (4) made by knotting three-ply braided cord to top of netting on either side and knotting another cord (5) to first one; 6, cork (*wawaono*) a strip of dry pandanus leaf rolled into cone shape and stuffed with more pandanus leaves. *b*, taro pounder (*tuki*) of *ngangie* wood (Cl050): weight 4 pounds, length 1 foot 10 inches, diameter of base (1) 3¼ inches, diameter of neck (2) 1¾ inches; distance from point of proximal end (3) to neck, 2¾ inches; diameter of base (4) of cone-shaped proximal end 1⅛ inches; pounding base (1) flares slightly and is slightly convex; surface of pounder smooth. *c*, taro mixer (*ivo*) of *ngangie* wood (Cl051): weight 3¼ pounds, length 2 feet 4 inches, diameter of base (1) 3 inches, diameter of neck (2) 1 inch; length of first cone of proximal end from point (3) to base (4), 1⅜ inches; length from base of first cone (4) to base (5) of second truncated cone 1⅜ inches; distal end of mixer flares out and pounding surface is slightly convex. *d*, various legs of wooden bowls: 1, top view of left leg, 2 inches broad, 1 inch wide, and 1¾ inches deep at bowl rim; hole, ¾ inch in diameter, runs through leg, by which bowl is suspended; 2, 3, top and side views of right leg of same bowl; leg, 1¾ inches wide and 1½ inches thick, carved in conventional phallic symbol 3 inches long. *e*, small food bowl (*kumete*) of *purau* wood (Cl139): greatest diameter 14¾ inches, least diameter 13 inches; thickness of sides at rim ranges from ¾ inch to 1 inch; depth of bowl 4¾ inches; legs plain, 2 inches long and 1 inch in diameter; bottom flat.

[831]

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Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokerau-langi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tona and Tuna, saw stone seats on the island of Wakaiva and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone rest, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a seat planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (*cf.*, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Tuvalu and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the third man Wate-matuve-ani, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated, at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are situated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as cool resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pu*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.